Bombay Gazette.

EXTRAORDINARY.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 30TH 1827.

THE GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

AUGUST 30TH 1827

Unable to get the whole of the debate in Parliament of the 1st of May printed in time to accompany the Gazette of Yesterday, we still have felt it our duty to spare no exertion in presenting so important a page of British History thus early to our impatient readers.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TUESDAY.—MAY 1.

Intense interest was manifested throughout the day, in the neighbourhood of the House of Commons. A considerable number of persons assembled in Palace-yard, and the avenues to the house were excessively crowded. At a quarter before five the gallery was opened, and was immediately filled, almost to suffocation. The attendance of members was unprecedentedly great. On the Ministerial benches we observed Mr. Tierney, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. Calcraft, Sir J. Newport, Lord Stanley, Mr. Brougham, Mr. S. Rice, Sir R. Wilson, Mr. F. Buxton, and several other gentlemen who formerly sat on the Opposition benches. In the side galleries we observed the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and of Lichfield and Coventry, the Marquis of Sligo, the Earl Cowper, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Byron, the Marquis of Ailesbury, Earl Roden, Lord Ravensworth, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Seaforth, Lord Bexley, the Earl of Farnham, the Duke of Norfolk, and Earl Fitzwilliam.

LUDLOW ELECTION PETITION

Mr. DYSON presented the list of members who had been ballotted to decide on the merits of the above petition. The names are as follows.

D. F. Davidson. Esq.; Hon. R. Grosvenor; T. Wood Esq.; Marquis of Blandford; Hon. H. R. Westenra; Sir R. R. Vivian; R. W. Talbot Esq.; Sir W. J. Hope; Viscount Castlereagh; J. H. Cooper, Esq.; Sir T. Mostyn; P. Corbet, Esq.; Lord F. Osborne; Sir E. Knatchbull.

NEW WRITS.

On the motion of Mr. HERRIES, new writs were ordered to be issued for the following places:—For the borough of Peterborough, in the room of Sir James Scarlett, who has accepted the office of His Majesty's Attorney-General; for the county of Sutherland, in the room of Lord F. L. Gower, who has accepted the office of one of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury; for the borough of Liskeard, in the room of Lord Eliot, who has accepted the office of one of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury; for the University of Cambridge, in the room of Sir J. S. Copley, now Lord Lyndhurst, who has been called to the House of Peers.

On the motion that a new writ be ordered for a member to serve in the present Parliament for the borough of Ashburton, in the room of the Right Hon. W. S. Bourne, who has accepted the office of one of His Majesty's principal Secretary's of State.

Mr. PEEL rose and said, that as the motion then before the house was immediately connected with the succession to office which he had recently held, he trusted they would not think that he made an unfair or an unreasoable request, it he entreated them to allow him to take the present opportunity for the purpose of explaining as briefly as the peculiar circumstances of the case permitted, the ground on which he had retired from the situation of Secretary of State. He knew how much matter of a personal nature must necessarily be involved in a proceeding of this kind; but yet, he had so frequently, under other circumstances, been honored with the considerate attention of the house, that he was sure he did not entertain a vain or unfounded expectation, when he expressed a confident hope that the same indulgence would be extended to him on the present occasion. (Hear.) In the full belief that that expectation would not be disappointed, he had abstained from resorting to any other mode of explaining the motives by which his conduct had been guided. Three weeks had now elapsed since he had virtually resigned the office of Secretary of State for the Home Department; and during that interval his silence had been the subject of much doubt and much misconstruction. He had, however, waited patiently, supported by the conscientious feeling that he acted upon public grounds (hear)—supported by the reflection that he had taken a course consistent with the proper maintenance of his own character, and the character of that class to which he belonged—he meant to the class of public men—and supported also by the hope, that on this day, and in this place, he should have an opportunity (in the face of the house, whose confidence he was chiefly anxious to possess, or he should rather say, to retain) of being enabled to vindicate himself on account of his previous silence. He said to vindicate his character, and to remove any misconstruction to which his conduct might have given rise; because he could not conceive that a public man, embarked in the public service, was entitled, on light or trivial grounds, to sever or withdraw his assistance from the servants of the Crown, whose confidence he had previously obtained. If he had taken such a step from indifference to the country or from levity, or from disappointed ambition or from private pique, or personal feeling then he should say at once, that if not constitutionally yet he was morally responsible for the consequences of such a proceeding, and that he was unworthy of that confidence which his Sovereign had heretofore bestowed on him. (Hear, hear.) The grounds on which he retired from office were simply these He had taken from the first moment of his public life an active and decided part on a great and vital question—that of the extension of political privileges to the Roman Catholics. (Hear, hear.) *For 18 years he had pursued one consistent, undeviating course with respect to the question-* (Hear.) He had during that time, constantly offered an uncompromising, but, he hoped, a temperate, fair, and constitutional resistance to every proposition for granting any farther concession to the Roman Catholics. During 14 of those 18 years, he had held office and during 11 of them he had filled a situation closely connected with the administration of affairs in Ireland. He at this moment still retained the opinions which he had always cherished with respect to the Catholic question; and having taken the active and prominent parts which he had done, in opposition to it, as a Minister of the Crown, he did not think that he could, consistently with his honour as a public man, agree to an arrangement which would, he knew, confer benefit on himself *but which, if he retained office*, would be calculated materially to forward the success of a question to which he could never agree, and to which he had always offered, and must always offer the most open and deciced resistance. (Hear, hear.) His opposition was founded on principle. He thought that the continuance of those bars which prevented the acquisittion of political power by the Roman Catholics was necessary for the maintainance of the constitution, and for the interest of the established church. Therefore it was that he opposed their removal; and in so doing, he was not actuated by any confined or temporary views. This being the broad, distinct, and intelligible ground which he had all along taken and which was well known from his repeated professions and declarations, he would leave it to be judged by the country at large whether or not there was any sufficient reason to induce him to acquiesce in an arrangement which was calculated to promote an object that he had constantly and strenuously resisted? (Hear.) He saw no such reason; and therefore he determined to retire from the public service, should his right hon. friend be placed at the head of the Treasury. (Hear.) If his opinion as to this important question had been changed he would have been bound, from a right sense of public duty, faithfully to have acted on that new impression—to have accepted office under his right hon. friend's administration, and to have kept himself free from any, even the most distant suspicion of being actuated by private or personal feelings. (Hear.) But as he had not changed his opinion in the slightest degree,—as the Duke of York was no more, and as the voice of the Earl of Liverpool was silent—he conceived that he did right in acting on the conviction which he had previously formed in his own mind,—namely, that the contemplated changes were calculated to strengthen a question which he had ever opposed, and that therefore he could not concur in. (Hear, hear.) Such was the part he had conscientiously adopted in public life. He had given up office, because he could not hold it in connexion with an Administration that was likely to forward the claims of the Roman Catholics. The next question was, whether or not the appointment of his right hon. friend to be at the head of the Administration, to occupy that place which was recently occupied by the Earl of Liverpool, was likely, even if he (Mr. Peel) acquiesced in holding office, to promote the final success of the Catholic question? He sincerely thought that it would promote the ultimate success of that question. He gave his right hon. friend full credit for the honesty and sincerity of his intentions. He must judge of his right hon. friend as he wished to be judged himself, by the course which he had pursued, and by the declarations which he had made; and he thought, looking to his right hon. friend's sincerity and consistency, that it would be his duty, as he believed it was his intention, if he were placed at the head of the Administration, to press forward the claims of the Roman Catholic, if not immediately, at least at no remote period. (Hear, hear.) Therefore he came to the conclusion, that it was his imperative duty to retire from an Administration thus constituted. (Hear.) It was not merely that his right hon. friend differed in opinion from him on this important question; but it was, that the change in the Administration would have occasioned the transfer of all that influence and power which belonged (and most properly belonged) to the office of Prime Minister, to the hands of one who would use it for the purpose of forwarding an object which he had always resisted. Therefore it was that he disapproved of the change (Hear, hear.) It was not, be it observed, a transfer of that influence and power from one ordinary man to another ordinary man; but a transfer from the most able opponent of the Roman Catholic claims to their most zealous and eloquent advocate. (Hear) It was because, with reference to the Catholic question, he saw, after this transfer had been made, that the Government could not be conducted on the same principles as it had been carried on during the administration of Lord Liverpool, that he had determined to withdraw himself from it. (Hear, hear.) He had an opportunity of maturely deliberating on this subject; he had marked, with attention, the splendid course which his hon. friend had run with respect to this question; but still he confessed that the deliberation of every day and every hour more strongly confirmed the opinion which he had always maintained, and in conformity with the strength of that opinion he had retired. (Hear.) He found, from the period when the restrictions were first removed from his present Majesty, who was then acting as Prince Regent, down to the month of March last, when the hon. member for Westminister brought forward his resolutions with respect to the Roman Catholics, that his right hon. friend took the same favourable view of the Roman Catholic claims,—that he continued, on all occasions, to support those claims with his utmost ability, and with his utmost ability, and with the most undeviating consistency. In the year 1812, Mr. Grattan brought forward a motion for the immediate consideration of the claims of the Roman Catholics, which proposition was negatived. His right hon. friend was not, however, satisfied with that; but he found him, in the very same session (because the restrictions had then expired), introducing a motion for going into a consideration of those claims, with a view to their final adjustment. (Hear.) Then, he would ask, what was to prevent his right hon. friend from pursuing precisely the same course in 1827 which he had pursued in 1812? (Hear.) In the latter year, the motion of Mr. Grattan had been negatived but his right hon. friend was not dispirited by that defeat. He immediately afterwards brought forward a proposition pledging the House of Commons to take the subject into its serious consideration early in the next session, which proposition was carried by a large majority. Now he knew of no constitutional ground that precluded his right hon. friend from adopting the self same course in the present session. (Hear.) He could not have proposed to his right hon. friend to give him any pledge upon this subject; and he well knew, from the line of conduct which had been followed by his right hon. friend, as well as from his acknowledged honour and integrity, that if he had required any such pledge, his right hon. friend would have refused it- How, then, would he have stood if he had taken office under the probability that a motion, similar to that of 1812, would be introduced by his right hon. friend? He would have been compelled to oppose his right hon. friend on that occasion for he could not agree to a motion pledging the house to entertain this question in the next session, no more than he could coincide with the resolution which the honourable baronet (Sir Francis Burdett) had introduced, and which called on the house to consider the subject early in the present session. During the whole period, he repeated, from 1812 to 1827, on every occasion where the question of granting concessions to the Roman Catholics was brought forward, his right hon. friend had, in perfect consistency with all his professions and declarations, given that question his most decided and powerful support. (Hear, hear.) He had not only supported the Catholic question when brought forward by others, but he had himself originated motions in that house for conceding a portion of the claims preferred on behalf of the Roman Catholics, which involved the whole of the principle; because if the arguments of his right hon. friend were good for the extension of a part of the privileges contended for, they must as a natural and necessary consequence, lead to the extension of the whole. (Hear.) In the year 1822, his right hon. friend had introduced a bill for admitting Roman Catholic peers to sit in the House of Lords. He (Mr. Peel) had opposed that motion, which, however, was carried through the House of Commons, though it was lost elsewhere. Now suppose a measure af that description were introduced, backed by all the authority of the first Minister of the Crown, could he (Mr. Peel), because he was in office, assent to it? Could he because he was in power, support a measure which involved the whole principle of the great question? Could he, with any degree of consistency, concede that which he had refused five years before? Could he act otherwise than oppose the first Minister of the Crown on such a proposition? It was impossible that he could take any other course, with a due regard to his own character for consistency. (Hear.) What he was now saying was not meant as matter of complaint against his right hon. friend, but because it was necessary that he should vindicate himself by declaring the grounds on which he had acted—because it was proper that he should maintain his character, and put an end to every thing like misconstruction with respect to the part which he had taken, by stating the whole truth, and fully explaining his motives. (Hear.) What security could he have had that his right hon. friend would would not claim his right to bring forward the same kind of motion which he had introduced in 1822, for allowing Roman Catholic peers to sit in the House of Lords? On the 30th of April, 1822, his right honourable

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friend had said, in 1822, that he could not conclude the speech in which he pressed the Roman Catholic peers to the privilege of the Peerage, without anticipating (as he himself anticipated) that the partial success of the Roman Catholic peers, if completed elsewhere, would lead to the concession of of all the claims set up by the general body of the Roman Catholics. Now he felt no desire to acquiesce in, or to be a party in directing, an attack upon principles which he had hitherto been strenously defending (hear) Neither was it in his power, with a due regard to public character, to consent to the introductiou of even any partial concession, because it was favored by the ministers of the Crown, and invested with all their influence and authority. (Hear, hear.) If this were the case, still less could he acquiesce in any general and extensive concession. (Hear, hear.) What, then, would have been his situation? It would have been, in fact, neither more nor less than this—that he would have held his office on sufferance. (Hear, hear.) He might have been called on in a week or a month to retire—and that too, at a period infinitely more inconvenient than the present, when the question was the formation of a ministry. (Hear, hear.) Now, could he, he would ask, after the declarations of his right hon. friend, coupled with his uniform conduct, entertain a doubt of the course which, in his opinion, his right hon. friend pledged to take as a man and a Minister? He (Mr. Peel) was placed on the present day, in circumstances very nearly similar to those in which his right hon. friend was placed in the year 1812, when he refused to become part of a cabinet the Prime Minister of which was not pledged to the Catholic question. When the proposition to join that Cabinet was made to his right hon. friend, he, in a speech delivered within those walls, stated the grounds on which he rejected that proposition. His right hon. friend had at that time stated, what would be the situation of a Minister thus opposed to the Premier. (Hear, hear,) He could not avoid adverting to the example which was then set by his right hon. friend, nor the construction which was then put on the proposition, by the very Minister who now possessed the highest situation in the Ministry. (Hear, hear.) He certainly felt that the doctrines laid down in the speech delivered by his hon. friend on that occasion, might have been quoted against him (Mr. Peel), if he had submitted to continue in the situation of Secratary of State for the Home Department under his right hon. friend the whole of whose influence would be exerted in the support of a measure of which he (Mr. Peel) so entirely disapproved. (Hear.) When on the 21st of May, 1812, Mr. Stuart Wortley (now Lord Wharncliffe) moved an address to his present Majesty, then Prince Regent, praying him to take measures for forming a strong and efficient Admistration it was understood that the Catholic question was to be left an open question amongst the members of that Administration. At least he knew that his noble friend, the Secretary at War, and some o- the members of Administration voted for it. That motion was carried by a majority of 129. He (Mr. Peel) voted in the minority, which was a very small one; for the Protestant cause was not then supported by such large numbers as now upheld it. He mentioned this circumto show that his conduct with respect to this question had always been consistent, whether he was in a majority or a minority. On the 21st of May, 1812, his right honourable friend, in his speech on Mr. S. Wortley's motion for a strong and efficient Administration, assigned the grounds on which he declined taking office; and those grounds so nearly resembled those on which he (Mr Peel) deemed it necessary to retire, that instead of explaining them himself, he begged leave to make use of the much clearer and more emphatic words of his right honourable friend, which were as follow:—"I have been asked whether, supposing I had accepted the offer that was made to me, I should not have felt myself at perfect liberty to act as my own opinions should dictate upon the great question which constitutes the main bar of separation? I reply, that as a minister I know I should have been at liberty. I do not mean to assert that if I had joined the present Administration to fight against my own principles, under the banners of the noble lord, I should not have had the power of making my solitary speech, and of giving my solitary vote in support of opinions I had previously maintained. I will not even say that there may not be honourable minds who would be satisfied with such a distinction; and it may be my misfortune or my fault that mine is not a mind of that construction. If when out of office I have lent to any cause that I deemed just, my influence and my authority, I never can consent to accept office under the condition that I shall instantly divest myself of that influence and authority which ought still to be my companions, and to leave them on one great and vital question in open and wilful abeyance." Those were the sentiments which his right hon. friend gave utterance to in 1812. He (Mr. Peel admired them. He gave his right hon. friend credit for sincerity. He was satisfied that he would use the influence of his new situation for the purpose of carrying, when in office, the measure which out of office he had declared to be just. He would read another extract from his right honourable friend's speech, every word of which applied strongly to his (Mr. Peel's) situation:—"Personal objections (continued his right honourable friend) to the noble Lord, I declare I have none;" nor (said Mr. Peel) had he any personal objection to his right honourable friend. From the bottom of his heart he declared it. "I am actuated by no feeling of rivalry," said his right honourable friend; neither was he (Mr. Peel.) His conduct at the period when the right honourable gentleman was about to sail for India was decisive upon this point. Upon his (Mr. Peel's) return from attending His Majesty in Scotland, he waited upon the noble Lord then at the head of the Government, on the first day of his arrival in London, and said, that if he (Lord Liverpool) and his colleagues deemed the accession of his right hon. friend (Mr. Canning to the ministry of importance to the public service, that *neither* on the ground of *personal or other considerations* would he oppose any difficulties to the arrangement; but that he was perfectly willing and ready to act with him. (Hear, hear.) He had, there ore, a right to say, that four years ago he had decided the question as to rivalry and personal objection, and had proven that he was influenced by neither motive. His right hon. friend went on to say in the speech in question—"And, with this particular question excepted, I could have no earthly hesitation either in acting with or under him but I cannot allow that the predominance of his opinion shall stifle mine. I cannot enter the Cabinet, pretending not to know that the influence of the noble lord will be such as to paralyze all my feeble efforts there." (Loud cries of "hear.") If, then, he (Mr. Peel) had accepted it with the notice that such were his (Mr. Canning's) views of what the duty of a Minister invested with office was; and above all he would have accepted office in opposition to the example of his right hon. friend himself—an example which he honoured, because he thought it one which ought to be set by every public man placed in the situation in which his right hon. friend, stood. (Hear. hear,) His right hon. friend, in the same speech to which he had before referred, proceeded to notice the variety of opinions which prevailed in the Cabinet on the great question alluded to, and said that if he had "joined this *hortus siccus* of dissent, as Mr. Burke once termed it, we should have formed as beautiful a variety as was ever assembled in so small a collection. But amidst such unprecedented differences, on which side is the influence and the authority of Government enlisted? That is the main question; this man may hold a blue opinion, another a white, a third a green, a fourth a yellow, and a fifth a red, but with which of these shades does the sentiments of Government most nearly accord? Undoubtedly this point will be decided by the individual who holding the principle office, pre-eminently enjoys the confidence of the occupant of the throne; and the additioal weight he adds to the scale must overbalance the remainder." He begged leave to request the particular attention of the house to the remainder of the passage, in which his right hon. friend so eloquently described his (Mr. Peel's) situation and feelings upon a recent occasion:—"I could not, therefore, feel that I entered the Cabinet with honor if I consented to give there a mere barren solitary vote. I trust, although not very fairly put upon my trial that my conduct is completetely justified in the eyes of the house and, and of the country." (Cheers.) After the opinions thus expressed by his right hon. friend, and after the undeviating course which he had pursued for so many years, it would have been exceedingly inexpedient in him (Mr. Peel) to have formed part of an administration of which his right hon. friend was the chief. It must always be remembered that the peculiarity of his (Mr. Peel's) situation consisted not only in his often expressed opinions with respect to, and his resistence of, the Catholic question—not merely in the prominent part he had taken on that subject—but in this, that for nearly 12 years he had held offices in the ministry weich mixed him up with every Irish question, and he must confess that on this account the relation in which he was placed with the office of Prime Minister constituted a new and an insuperable difficulty to his continuance in the Admistration. Now that he was about to retire into the ranks of private life, he must fairly acknowledge that he had long felt his situation as the only responsible Minister of the Crown in the house who entertained his views with respect to the Catholic question, one of great difficulty and embarressment, and one in which a Minister of the Crown ought not to be placed and from which it was expedient that he should relieve himself in as soon as possible. He entered uponthe office of Seraetary of Sjate for the Home Department in 1822. The distinction was entirely unexpected as it was unsolicited by him. He, however entered upon that office with full notice of the difficulties which he would hereafter have to contend with. If he retained office in 1825, it was not from any personal motives, or from a desire to preserve that distinction contrary to his sense of pubtic duty. When he found himself, in 1825, left in a mimority on three questions intimately connected with Ireland—namely, the great Catholic question, the measure for the alteration of the elective franchise, and that for the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy, which latter he looked upon as something very like the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, (cheers), he went to the noble earl then at the head of the Goverament, and told him, that although it would be very painful to his feelings to disconnect himself from the Administration, from his friends with whom he agreed on all other points except those with respect to which he had been in a mimority—friends for whom he entertained the highest esteem and respect, yet he felt the situation in which he was placed one of such difficulty that he was most anxious to be relieved from it. The noble lord (Liverpool) told him, that his (Mr. Peel's) retirement from the Administration would also determine his resignation of office. He (Lord Liverpool) said, that he considered it of so much importance that the office of Home Secretary should be filled by a person whose opinions were in accordance with those of Prime Minister, that if he retired, that step would determine his (Lord Liverpool's) resignation. The representations of the noble lord induced him to wave his object, and to consent to remain in office until the sense of a new House of Commons should be expressed upon that most important subject—the Catholic question. When he last addressed the house on that subject, on the accasion of the motion of the honourable baronet the member for Westminister, he did so under the impression that he would be in a minority, and in that event he should have felt it his duty to withdraw from public service. (Hear, hear.) He was certain that every one who had hitherto listened to him must be aware, that he had not prefered any complaint againt any individual.—It was not his intention to do so. No one had treated him in any other way than with perfect good faith; yet he felt that he could not with propriety retain his office, he being the single Minister in the house responsible for the administration of the laws in Ireland, opposed by all his colleagues, and seeing them, as certainly they had a perfect right to do if they thought proper, actively concerting with his political opponents. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) He preferred no charge against his colleagues on this account. It was understood that every number of the Cabinet was to occupy himself to promote or defeat the Catholic question as he thought proper. The principal reason, however, which had determined him in the resignation of office, was the relation in which he stood, as Home Secretary, with the Prime Minister. When he first aceepted the office, he accepted it under a Prime Minister between whom and himself there was not the shadow of a difference of opinion; but when his right hon. friend, from whom he had the misfortuue to differ on an important question, was appointed to the situation of Premier, he found it utterly impossible, to retain his office; and he was sure that no gentleman who heard him could expect, that feeling his inability to hold that particular office of Home Secretary, he could be guilty of the paltry subterfuge of retreating to another. (Hear, hear.) When he found it impossible to retain the office which he held at the time the misfortune befel the Earl of Liverpool, he had no alternative but to retire from the Administration altogether. The relation between the office of Home Secretary and that of Prime Minister was very peculiar, not only with respect to Irish affairs, but also as to other matters. The Prime Minister had the disposal of all the patronage of the Crown, but the Home Secretary was the person who was legally and constitutionally responsible for it. Every presentment in the church, every political office bestowed by the Prime Minister, must bear the signature of the Home Secretary. This being the case, it was a matter of great importance that the two offices should not be held by persons entertaining opposite opinions,—that the individual charged with the domestic government of the country should differ from the Prime Minister upon the most important of all domestic questions. (Hear, hear.) When, therefore, his right hon. friend was appointed Prime Minister, he had only one of two courses to pursue—either to withdraw from office at once, or to continue in the Administration and come in painful collision with his right hon. friend (a circumstance which he should sincerely deprecate), until at length he retired from office upon some single isolated individual appointment which the country would never understand or admit as valid ground. (Hear, hear.) These, then, were the public grounds on which he had proceeded. Taking the view which he did of the Catholic question, and charged as he was by his office with the domestic administration of the empire, and therefore necessarily mixed up, as he must be, with every Irish question, he thought it inexpedient to retain office with his right hon. friend, differing from him so materially as he did upon the most important question of all. Acting on that opinion, he hesitated not a moment in signifying his intention to resign. Whether the house would consider the grounds upon which he had acted sufficient, was to him a subordinate consideration to another; and that was, whether, having resolved to retire he acted on that resolution in conformity with perfect good faith, and consistently with the respect which he owed to the Sovereign who had honoured him. He could assure the house that he would much more deeply lament the the possibility of his not having acted with good faith, and with the respect due to his Sovereign, than his not having proceeded on sufficient grounds. He would state the course which he had pursued. He stated his intention to no person becanse he wished not to influence the conduct of any one. The first person to whom he stated his inability to acquiesce in the appointment of his right hon. friend as Prime Minister was his right hon. friend himself, then Secretary of State for Foreign affairs. He then knew not the intention of any other members of the Administration. He acted on his own opinion with respect to his own situation. The first moment the subject was mentioned to him, he sought for no reservation. He did not say, "I will postpone giving an answer until you make me a formal offer." His right hon. friend would confirm his statement, that on the first occasion of the subject being mentioned, which was, he believed, on the 29th of March, he stated to him without reserve, his opinion with respect to the particular situation in which he was placed, and informed him that his sense of duty would dictate his retirement from office, in the event of His Majesty selecting him as the head of the Administration. His right honourable friend would recollect that he made that communication to to him without the slightest interruption of the good understanding which had always existed between them up to the present moment. It was, then, impossible to say that he, in quitting office, had come to any sudden or precipitate resolutiou, with the intention of taking any person by surprise. (Hear, hear.) When he informed his right hon. friend of his intentions, he accompanied the communication with the expression of a sincere desire to remain connected with the Administration if any arrangement could be made for placing it on the basis on which it stood whilst the Earl of Liverpool was at its head. He stated that he was perfectly satisfied with the situation which he held—that he wished for no advancement, no change; but that if an arrangement could be made, for placing at the head of the Government an individual of sufficient weight, professing the same principles which had governed the policy of the Earl of Liverpool, he would willingly act under his right hon. friend, and see him possess all the influence in the Cabinet which his talents entitled him, to. He likewise declared to his right hon. friend, that his opinions with respect to the Roman Catholic question formed the only obstacle to his continuance in office with him, if he should be appointed Prime Minister. He told him that if their opinions concided on that point, he would cheerfully act under him; but the case being otherwise, he had from first to last pointed out the impossibility of remaining in the same Administration with him. As he had before stated, in retiring from office he acted without concerting or advising with others, But whilst he avowed that, let him repel the painful accusation which had been preferred aginst him, that he looked upon his late colleagues, who had retired from office with him, in a different light from that in which he had formerly viewed them and which was one of esteem, respect, and admiration, and that he wished his case to be considered as separated from theirs. It was true that he had not acted in concert with them, but it was equally true that he was them prepared, if necessary to defend them from the charge brought against them of having acted as a cabal. (Hear.) He hesitated not to say that the course which had been pursued by each of those individuals was not only perfectly justifiable, but, with their impressions and views of public service, one which ought to be held up as a great and splendid example to all public men. (Cheers,) He declared, then, that the charge of the late Ministers having acted in concert, or in the spirit of cabal, was not only not true, but directly the reverse of truth. There might be the appearance of concert, because, in fact, there was no concert. If the late Ministers had been base enough to concert and cabal against their Sovereign, it was probable that they would have been cunning enough to have taken care not to let him know it. (Cheers.) By command of His Majesty he communinated to one of his colleagues the course which he intended to pursue; but he did not inquire of that individual, nor did he know, how he meant to act. He had stated, that if the Administration could be reconstructed on the principle of the late Administrotian, he alone retiring from office, he would give his support to the general measures of Goverument (always excepting the Catholic question) out of office. He had never communicated with the Lord Chancellor as to the course which he intended to pursue. He had never opened his lips to him on the subject till the 9th of April, the day on which his right hon. friend was ordered by His Majesty to reconstruct the Administration. He knew not

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his lordship's intentions, and his lordship was unacquainted with his; and the same might, he believed, be said of every other member of the late Cabinet. He was decidedly of opinion, that those individuals possessed too much delicacy and reserve to have allowed themselves to concert with each other on such a point. It had also been charged against the late Ministers that they had attempted to dictate to their Sovereign. That charge was not only not true, but the very reverse of truth. There had been no attempt to dictate to His Majesty by any one Minister. When he considered the manner in which the Lord Chancellor had been treated, and also that illustrious individual whose name was stamped in the brightest annals of the country,—whose memory would not be more immortal for his brilliant military exploits than for the simplicity and integrity of his character, and for the habitual deference and respect which he bore to the kingly office, and, above all, to the present sovereign,—when he considered the accusations which, for the purpose of effecting some object, had been made against those great men, the ingratitude and injustice of the proceeding was so revolting, that he found it impossible to speak of it with common patience. (Cheers.) As he had before said, he was prepared to vindicate the impressions under which each member of the late Administration had acted; but he would abstain from doing so at that moment, because, probably, another opportunity would be afforded him for that purpose. It now only remained for him to express his thanks for the indulgence which the house had shown him. (Here.) He had entered at great length into a matter involving certainly much of public concern, but more of personal interest. He had stated fully the public grounds on which he had felt it necessary to retire from office. The separation from his right hon. friend, with whom he had acted so cordially on every point but one, was to him a source of deep regret, which was, however, in some degree mitigated by the recollection that he had done every thing which he thought becoming his character to prevent. He retired from the service of his Sovereign without any personal regret, except upon one point—namely, that he could no longer avail himself of those opportunities which his office afforded him of introducing a system of improvement into the existing laws. (Hear.) To effect that object was the chief desire of his life; and the only reward he had ever sought for his exertions, was to possess the confidence of that house and of his country. (Cheers.) He had the satisfaction of reflecting that, during the five years he had held the office of Home Secretary, every institution that came under his immediate cognizance had been subjected to such reforms as were considered most advantageous and useful. He had likewise the satisfaction of recollecting that every law which he found on the Statute-book at his entrance into office, imposing extraordinary restrictions on the liberties of the subject, had been either modified or repealed altogether. He might be a Tory, and an illiberal, but he had the satisfaction of knowing that such had been his conduct. (Hear, hear.) Tory as he was, also; it was gratifying to him to reflect that no law stood on the Statute-book in connexion with his name which had not for its object the mitigation of the severity of the criminal law, and the prevention of any abuse in the administration of justice. (Hear). It was not the least gratifying part of retrospection to observe, that during the severest period of trial the manufacturing classes of this country were ever exposed to—namely, during the winters of the two last years, he, being charged with the administration of domestic affairs, abstained from applying to Parliament for any measures of extraordinary severity, but preferred rather to content him[illegible] existing [illegible] be his o[illegible] tions of [illegible] possessi[illegible] is uniform[illegible] ancient associations, but never [illegible] prepossessions to prevent him from entering into the candid examination of any alleged case of abuse, with the view of applying a gradual and temperate remedy. (Hear.) These were the principles upon which he had proceeded in his attempt to ameliorate the criminal law, for which he was proud to reflect that he had gained the confidence of the country, and the continuance of that confidence was the chief reward he hoped from any exertions which he could make. (The right hon. gentleman then sat down amidst loud cheers, which were continued for some moments.)

Mr. W. DUNCOMBE said he was perfectly aware that he should incur the imputation of presumption in offering himself to the house on this most important occasion; but it would be only for a few minutes; and he confessed he was most anxious to take the earliest opportunity of stating what he believed to be the most decided sentiment of the very great majority of those whom he had the honour to represent, as well as of the country at large—namely, that of deep regret and concern at the secession of the right hon. gent. from office. (Cheers.) As far as he could understand, the right hon. gent., in retiring from office, had acted so clear and manly, that it was totally unnecessary for him to enter into any explanation on the subject, though the right hon. gent. himself doubtless felt it due to his own character, and to those with whom he had hitherto been connected in the public eye, to state what he had done. He was convinced that the right hon. gentleman's future conduct would not belie the character he had universally obtained throughout the country—which was that of one of the most honest and conscientious ministers the Crown had ever possessed. He had proved himself to be a zealous promoter of useful and beneficial reforms, and the watchful and uncompromising guardian of the principles of the British constitution. (Hear, hear.) He retired from office in the full enjoyment of his country's love. He trusted, however, that his retirement would be of no long duration. He offered up his humble but earnest hope, that the right honourable gentleman might enjoy in private life every blessing of health and happiness. (A laugh.) Of this, however, he felt convinced, and he was glad to see such a prospect.—the differences upon the question of Catholic emancipation would now be terminated. The right honourable premier, no doubt, would take the immediate course upon that question which was consistent with the principles which he had professed during the whole course of his political life; and it was impossible to believe that the gentlemen who had recently united themselves to him would ever listen to any thought of compromise upon a subject so important.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said, that the full and eloquent exposition of the right hon. gentleman on his left (Mr. Peel), which had been listened to with so much attention and with so much satisfaction by all sides of the house, was the more agreeable and satisfactory, to him (Sir F. Burdett) personally, as it reduced that which he had himself to offer to the house into a very narrow compass. Because the very same feelings which had compelled the hon. member upon a question which he deemed of the highest public importance,—a question which involved no less an interest than that of the great cause of general religious freedom in Great Britain,—a question, the principles favourable to the support of which he thought were actually identified with the first principles of the British Constitution,—principles which, in themselves, were not only sanctioned by the common law of nature, but by every consideration of policy and reason, and which were gaining ground more and more from day to day in every other kingdom of the civilized world, though they still were, or had been, by some miraculous fatality, resisted in England; the very same feelings which had induced the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel) to withdraw his assistance from His Majesty's Government, as soon as he saw that that great question was likely to be determined in a manner, in his opinion, contrary to the interests of the State, left him (Sir Francis Burdett), whose views upon that particular measure were directly opposite to those of the right hon. gentleman, no choice but to give that Government every support and assistance in his power. (Hear.) His feelings had been excited just as completely as those of the right hon. gentleman by the present crisis, only in a different way. He had looked at the present opportunity as the only practical one which had arisen during his political life, for advocating, and, as the right hon. gentleman had truly said, advancing that question, upon the fortunate issue of which, in his opinion, the prosperity, and probably the safety, of this country, depended. It was a dawn of hope which was breaking upon the benighted prospects of Ireland; and which, it was to be trusted, would have the effect of tranquilizing that unhappy kingdom, until the people of England could be so far enlightened as to perceive that her misfortunes formed a constant stumbling-block to their own advantage. (Hear.) For himself, he might say, it most sincerely, no person, was more inclined to give credit to the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel) [illegible] circumstan[illegible] the right h[illegible] surprise—to wit, the declaration that it was the Catholic question which had formed the only ground of division in the late cabinet; but he gave those who had seceded upon that ground full credit for the principles on which they had acted. He was not a man to seek, personally for opportunities of casting even justifiable reproach; and upon the present occasion he was bound to say, that taking the statement of the right hon. gentleman, the conduct of those parties who had seceded did not seem to be open to any. At the same time, however, although he approved and admitted the principle upon which the right hon. gentleman had acted, yet, it was impossible for him not to say that he rejoiced that the right hon. gentleman had been compelled to act as he had done. (Hear.) The motives upon which the right hon. gentleman had withdrawn were honorable to him in the highest degree; but still it was a benefit, and a most important benefit, to the country, that he had been compelled to withdraw—that any thing, no matter what, had obliged him to give up a situation in which he was no doubt of great utility to the country, but in which he presented a constant barrier to the alteration of a state of affairs and politics in Ireland, which scarcely six men in England would be hardy enough to say could be allowed to remain in their present ruinous condition. (Much cheering.) At all events, however, whether from his own impressions, or following the example of the right hon. gentleman, he felt that he should be abandoning his duty to the public welfare—abandoning the duty he owed to those better principles which were upon their march in this country as in every other, and could not be resisted—which might, by care and conduct, be so guided as in their course to produce neither danger nor mischief, but which no power that could be exerted would be able eventually to stop or check—he repeated, that there was no point of view in which he should not desert his duty to those principles, if he failed to throw all his weight in the scale of the present arrangement. And, besides, he was a practical man, or wished to be so. He was ready to go as far as any man for abstract principle, but he could not quite lose sight of present advantage. If he could not at once obtain all that he desired or thought he was entitled to, still that which he saw he could obtain, he would not on that account reject. He thought the only hope this country had, on a general view of her situation, was in assimilating her policy to that more enlightened system which was now making progress among the other states of Europe. The condition of England—look at it as gentlemen would—with reference either to her connection with Ireland, her financial condition, her colonial system, or her relations, generally, foreign and domestic, required the assistance and the concurrence of every spark of talent that could be embodied for her aid: and the best chance she had of assistance, was from a Ministry which in its views was united, and not from one which was split into factions, thwarting and contradicting each other upon every important question. He was accustomed to act pretty generally upon his own judgment; and it was upon his own judgment that he had taken the present step. He conceived that he had done no more than given his support to the Crown, in the exercise of its undoubted prerogative; and in a case where he had no question but that that prerogative was employed for the public welfare. The right hon. gentleman had said, and truly, that he saw in the choice of the Crown on that occasion, the probable advancement of a state of things to which he (Mr. Peel) objected But he (Sir F. Burdett) entertained different views as to the policy with respect to Ireland He favoured and supported that state of things to which the right hon. gent. objected. And feeling it impossible [as we understood the hon. bart.] that the choice alluded to could leave an alternation from the present course of policy any thing short of a *sine qua non*, he rejoiced in that withdrawal which removed a stumbling-block out of the way of change, whenever the time should come that the country was operated upon—as he had no doubt it would speedily be operated upon—by sentiments of sound policy, justice, and liberality. (Loud cheers from both sides of the house.) Let the house look only to the course of events—to the progress of principles in time past—to common experience. Let the house only recollect what the change of opinion had been upon the important subject in question—let them observe what had been the state of public feeling in the country upon it 20 or 30 years ago. The state of the country was now altered; it was ready to receive any impressions which a liberal and enlightened Government might hold out for its acceptance. The hon. baronet concluded by repeating, that, looking to the eventual advantage of England, notwithstanding his esteem for the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel), he had no hesitation in saying, that he rejoiced in his secession from office. The inability of the right hon. gentleman to concur in the principles of the present Administration, had removed a most danger- [illegible] displayed before. For his part, he could only bear full testimony—judging from the speech of the hon. member for Westminster (Sir F. Burdett)—to the loyalty with which the hon. member had given his support to the throne; and could entertain no doubt, judging, also from the hon. member's declarations, as to the fairness of the course which he meant to pursue. The support which the hon. baronet proposed to give to the new Government, if he (Sir T. Lethbridge) understood it well, grew out of his adherence to one great leading political question—that question which had led to the regretted secession of the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Peel), and of those other respectable and eminent ministers of Government who had gone out of office with him. While he regretted the secession, however, of those great men, on some accounts for the sake of the country, there was one score upon which he rejoiced at it—he thought it would lead both the house and the country to something like a clear sight of what was public faith and public principle for the future. It was some advantage to have any question in course of policy placed beyond the power of mistake or misconception; and he was pleased that the country would be at last able to look at the Catholic question in an intelligible point of view, knowing, between two parties, which intended really to support that question and which to oppose it. It was with a hope of

obtaining this clear understan[illegible] (Sir Thomas Lethbridge) had son[illegible] submitted a motion to the hou[illegible] which, however, finding it unsupp[illegible] not pressed; but the object now [illegible] answered, because, independent [illegible] of the hon. baronet who had last [illegible] the adoption of the Catholic ques[illegible] sidered a *sine qua non* in the ne[illegible] he found it impossible to do[illegible] known opinion of the now First [illegible] Treasury, that that right hon. pe[illegible] once come down to the house [illegible] tinct proposition upon the su[illegible] hear, from the Opposition be[illegible] pendent of the distinct declarat[illegible] baronet, the member for West[illegible] position under which he gave [illegible] the new Government, he (Sir [illegible] bridge) looked for this course [illegible] decided expectation from the [illegible] often proclaimed sentiments of [illegible] nourable First Lord of the Tre[illegible] the parties who had connected themselves with him. But he thought it perfectly certain now—and fortunate it was both for Catholics and Protestants—that the question could not fail to come before the country in that decided shape, since the hon. member for Westminster declared that it was a *sine qua non* with him, in the support which he gave to Government that the question should be carried. (Cries of "No, no," from the Ministerial benches, and loud cheers from the Opposition.) Hon. gentlemen said "No:" it was possible he was mistaken; but he believed that it had been clearly meant by the hon. baronet that the support of the Catholic question had been made a *sine qua non* in the new arrangements of Government. The words certainly had been used by the honourable baronet, and he understood them as applied to the Catholic question, and to no other. (Hear, hear.) He understood that fact to form the hon. baronet's justification of the course which he had pursued; and he was far from being sorry for such an intention. He should feel it his duty to oppose the question, in whatever shape it was presented: but he would rather see it take the position of being directly supported by Government, than treated as it had been treated for pretty nearly the last 20 years. And for that reason he would not detain the house longer with any profession of his own principles, than just barely to state that he entirely coincided in those of the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Peel); but he called upon Government—as he thought he was entitled to do—to speak out at once, and on that very evening, and tell the people of the country what course it meant to take. He asked the Government directly—was there to be a Cabinet united upon the subject of Catholic emancipation? or was it to be one made up of jarring materials and opinions, to be forced down, and settled from time to time, as circumstances should make necessary, or convenience admit? (Hear, hear.) He hoped that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) would have no hesitation in giving the country the information to which he alluded; but if it were not given, he should feel it his duty, in his place in the house, to take some step which should be likely to elicit it.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT denied that the expression of a *sine qua non* had been used by him with reference to any present vote upon the subject of the Catholic question. What he had meant was, that it had been a *sine qua non* with him—as he believed it was with others—in any new arrangement of Government, that such a course should be taken as would be likely to afford hope and restore tranquillity to Ireland The increased intelligence and liberality of the public mind in England, how- [illegible] allowed fair play, would short- [illegible] of the Treasury (Mr. Canning), had received from the hon. gentlemen who sat opposite—or, rather, who had sat opposite (hear, and laughter), there was no other feeling or sentiment than a desire to participate in the power and place of which the hon. gentleman had to dispose. And the sooner this fact was brought to the test the better. He begged not to be mistaken. He did not complain because he was not longer a servant of the Crown. He had resigned his place for reasons, and upon principles, which had been so fully explained by his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Peel), that it would be superfluous for him to add a single word upon them: he participated in every sentiment which that right hon. gentleman had expressed, and felt far greater pleasure in standing where he did before the house, to continue to express his approbation of those sentiments, than he could have done in filling any place which might have been purchased at the price of his abandoning them. But the hon. member for Westminster had stated distinctly, that he took the place behind the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Canning) with the purpose of having the question of Catholic emancipation carried. He (Mr. Dawson) was glad to hear the hon. baronet make that statement, because, if he had taken his place any otherwise than with that hope, he had been a party to one of the basest coalitions that ever had appeared upon record. ("Hear, hear," from both sides of the house.) At a time like

[illegible]nt, he could not pause very nicely to [illegible] expressions; and he repeated, that if [illegible]he hon. baronet and the gentlemen who sat beside him had taken their places without the immediate view of carrying the Catholic ques[illegible]n, they had become parties to one of the [illegible]t unprecedented—to one of the most un[illegible]ral coalitions—(hear and laughter)—[illegible] political experience could enumerate. [illegible]rable gentlemen might be pleased to [illegible] He was not to be put down by a gibe [illegible] He stood up in that house to express [illegible] opinions; and if gentlemen inter[illegible]im in the exercise of his right to do so, [illegible]se would be to appeal to the chair. He [illegible]peated that he knew of no case of a more base coalition for office, if the case were as he believed; and, at present, he would put that fact upon a very short and simple test. Was the Catholic emancipation, or was it not, he asked right hon. gentlemen, to be made a Cabinet question? The house was aware of the principles of the hon. gentlemen who had joined the new Government; it had heard the declaration of the hon. member for Westminster as to his views; and nothing could be more clear that, if there was the slightest suspense as to the Catholic question, – it became impossible for those gentlemen, consistently or conscientiouely, to continue to give the Government their support. Let the house look only for a moment to the state in which that measure stood. In public, not a great deal affecting it was seen. The press of the country was by some extraordinary fatality silent upon the subject: the fact was, that it was corrupted (hear, hear, and laughter);—corrupted to its core. (Great laughter.) But, though the press had been silent, the mouths of the people were not shut; and there were one or two reports abroad of so strange a nature, that he felt it his duty to the house to state the effect of them. These reports were circulated by no vulgar authority; if true, they place some gentlemen in rather an extraordinary position; and whether they were true or false, he thought at least the right hon, the First Lord of the Treasury was bound to come forward and declare. It was reported, with what truth the right hon. First Lord of the Treasury would know, that the command had been as to forming the new Administration that it should not change its character (from the former one) as to the support of the Protestant interest. It was said that the desire expressed in a certain quarter had been, that the Cabinet should be so constructed as to be formed, as far as possible, of persons who were anti-Catholic in their opinions. He (Mr. Dawson) knew, of course, that it had not been so formed; but what would be the result? What would the people of Ireland say, it the Catholic measure, under the new Administration, were not made a Cabinet question? What would the Catholics of Ireland say, when they found every member of the Government—with a single exception perhaps—of their party, and yet their cause not made a Cabinet question? and what would the Protestants say, who heard it declared that the intention of the Sovereign had been that there should be a Protestant Cabinet, and found the Protestant interests intrusted to such hands as those of Lord Bexley? Lord Lyndhurst, indeed, had lately made a speech in that house upon the Catholic question, for the whole material of which he had been indebted to the pamphlet of Dr. Philpots; but the Protestants of Ireland would have little confidence in such support as that of Lord Lyndhurst, especially after he had ranged himself under the banners of such opinions as those professed by the right hon. First Lord of the Treasury. He had told the house, that strange reports were in circulation: there were some to which, at the hazard of appearing tedious, he must refer more fully. He begged to know what it was that the public was to understand by the declaration, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had formally stated to an assembly of prelates at Lambeth. (Cries of "Order.") He said, what was to be understood by the reported declaration of those illustrious prelates in plain terms—that they had heard from no less a personage than the King himself—(Loud cries of "Order.") He begged pardon,—he should be able to proceed without being out of order,—that they had heard from a certain illustrious personage, that his opinions on the subject of Catholic emancipation were as those of his late illustrious brother, and no less decided than than those which had been held by his father. (Order, Order.) That they had been so during a long term of years, and that in the year 1806 he had stated that fact to Mr. Fox, expressing to that gentleman a hope that the question might not then be pressed. And let the house mark what was to follow; for the fact, if not true, ought to be plainly contradicted;—it was said that the King himself had declared directly to the right hon. First Lord of the Treasury, that, in his unbiassed view, the taking of the coronation oath—(loud and general cries of order," which compelled the hon. gentleman to stop.)

The SPEAKER said, that the house must be aware that there were circumstances which at the present moment, made the performance of his duty a matter of greater difficulty than at most others. There could be no doubt, however, that it was a fundamental principle in the proceedings of that house, that to allude to the Throne, either circuitously or directly, for the purpose of influencing the debate, was disorderly.

Mr. DAWSON resumed.—It was of the greatest importance to those members whose anxiety in the discharge of their duties was, that they might not deviate from the Constitution, to know upon what foundations the new Government was to be established. It was more especially so, when they were called on by the hon. baronet, member for Westminster to support the Administration, as the only ground for such a demand must be laid in the certainty felt by different parties as to the opinions they were thus called upon to support. While it was known that the King and his Ministers were at varaince upon one subject at least, those who called upon them to support his Ministers ought to give a satifactory explanation (hear, hear). It had been stated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the King had declared that his coronation oath stood in the way of granting the Catholic claims—(Loud cries of "order.") If that were so, and if it was certainly known that the first Miuister was at variance with his Royal Master, (laughter, followed by very loud cries of "order,") and if, from that high quarter it had been stated that there were decided objections to making any further concession—(Laughter and cries of "order.") He was not aware that he was out of order; it had certainly been stated at Lambeth, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, that His Majesty was opposed to granting the Catholic claims; and if that was the case, he thought that the First Minister of the Crown was called on to explain himself fairly and openly, not only as to his particular conduct and intentions but also as to those of his Government. (Cheers.) It was of little consequence to him (Mr. Dawson) personally, whether the right hon. gentleman did or did not determine for the support of those claims. If in the affimative, it would only have the effect of rendering his (Mr. Dawson's) opposition more decided. (Laughter.) But the house ought not to be satisfied without knowing the intentions of the ministers. The hon. baronet had said that the safety of the land depended upon the new arrangements of the Cabinet. He (Mr. Dawson) would say, that if the Irish Catholics were to be deluded any more with the expectation of ministerial support, ministers would make themselves answerable for every calamity which could afflict that country in future.

Mr. BROUGHAM said that he rose with no ordinary degree of anxiety to address the house on the subject which at present engrossed their attention. It had been his intention to have risen immediately after the hon. baronet, member for Westminster; and his purpose in doing so was to prevent some remarks of his honourable friend from being misunderstood—perhaps misrepresented (cheers); and now, having heard the speeches of the hon. bart., member for Somerset, and of the late Under-Secretary for Home Affairs—speeches to which he listened with continually increasing astonishment, he could no longer defer the duty which he owed to himself, and to those friends with whom it had been his pride and his pleasure to act. The hon. Under-Secretary for Home Affairs had appealed to him personally, and it seemed to be the opinion of that hon. gentleman, that, considering the principles which had hitherto been supposed to guide the Government, no other earthly motive could be discovered in his (Mr. Brougham's) conduct, except the desire to participate in the emoluments—(if the gentleman had not used that very word, there were enough men of sordid natures who would be ready so to interpret the expression which he did use)—of that patronage and influence which were now placed at the disposal of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Canning). To whatsoever cause he was indebted for this attack of the hon. gentleman,—whether he had to attribute it to preconcerted theory or to the practical reasoning of his experienced mind, according to such powers of reasoning as it possessed—(cheers and laughter), whatever might have inspired or propogated this first birth of wit in an ex-officer of the Crown, who was generally known to be less apt at sarcasm than votes—(laughter, followed by cries of "order")—Oh! he was perfectly aware how keen was that sense of justice which made some gentlemen so patient in hearing the charge, and so uneasy in listening to the defence—(loud cheers). He checked himself. Whatever difference of opinion there might exist among them he trusted that they would not be induced to follow the example which had been given in departing from the usual order of their proceedings. In whatever way he viewed the remarks of the hon. gentleman, to which-ever side of the public affairs he might have addressed them, to him (Mr. Brougham) application they had none. He had never dreamt of taking office under the present arrangements. (Loud cheers.) He was more removed from the probability of office or even from the contemplation of it, if possible, than the hon. gentleman himself. (Laughter and cheers.) They were to support Government, according to the hon. gentleman, by what he called an unnatural coalition or alliance, struck up between the right hon. gentleman and his (Mr. Brougham's) friends, who stood with respect to each other upon varying principles, engaged in opposing doctrines, and veiws totally hostile in the affairs of the country. He (Mr. Brougham), forsooth, had been opposed to the opinions advanced by the Government since the death of Lord Castlereagh, as to our foreign policy. He (Mr. Brougham), no doubt, had been anxious to attach to the wheels of the Holy Alliance, the triumphant chariot of the British fortunes. Then it must be assumed, that he had been one of the most zealous and illiberal oppugners of that policy which had been introduced into the mercantile affairs of the country by the President of the Board of Trade. He also had been at war, as it must be assumed, with the Government, or the chief members of it, on the policy which was most fitting to preserve in content and tranquillity the sister kingdom of Ireland. (Cheers.) Let the house look on all the great political questions upon which he and his friends had approximated to and differed from the Government; and they would soon discover which was most frequently in accordance, himself or the hon. gentleman who had made this attack upon him. Let it be considered what had been his conduct towards Ministers in respect of the policy of Europe, or let them, throw the eye across the Atlantic, where the dawn of freedom in the new states of South America had made the hearts of thousands leap for joy while blessing with its aspect myriads here who sympathised with them. Then as to the agricultural interests, had not he (Mr. Brougham) given his support to the right hon. gentleman Mr. Canning), though the hon. gentleman (Mr. Dawson) sat voting by his side? (Laughter and cheers.) These were the questions—these were the interests to which he had given his support. He had passed them in review, that the house might see that he had given that support to the right hon. gentleman because he was supposed to be practically animating the councils of Government upon those subjects which alone had found in his (Mr. Brougham's) feelings a faithful echo. But were there no questions on which he and his hon. friends differed from the right hon. gentleman, more than he differed from his own colleagues? Had they not of late been accustomed to a Cabinet almost wholly discordant, differing? among each other, "far as the Poles asunder" Had they not seen one Secretary of State directly opposed to the speeches and votes of another Secretary of State? While alluding to this painful subject, he felt bound to do justice to the manly, and to the country highly satisfactory, conduct, in his place, of the late Secretary of the Home-office. But had they not heard from that right hon. gentleman himself, that things were upon such a footing in the Cabinet, that he himself had the intention of retiring a year or two ago? When he (Mr. Brougham) saw that state of things he was for some time prevented and barred from executing his own wishes in favour of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), because he felt that the Government was composed in a manner which offered little satisfaction to the contemplation of thinking men. That impediment was removed by the retirement from office of those who were the most opposed to any change. He would speak with unabated respect of those lords and gentlemen who had resigned; and as to the speech of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel), though he was not accused of being too ready to pay his court to any individual, justice exacted from him (Mr. Brougham) his warmest praise. (Cheers.) It might not be forgotten, because it was matter of public and Parliamentary notoriety, that he had been particularly opposed on one occasion to that right hon. gentleman. But candour, justice, and truth, all now compelled him to speak. As a Minister, that right hon. gentleman had shown himself to be above all exception, and in his resignation he had placed himself above any suspicion which could be suggested by the utmost ingenuity of malice, were it possible for any one to be his enemy. (Loud cheers.) He had followed up the moderate, natural, and wholesome improvements of the criminal law, which a great man who once sat in that house had begun, but was not fortunate enough to complete, and which an hon. and learned friend of his, who was prevented from being present by indisposition, had with the greatest earnestness pursued. He felt that it was not among the least of the evils belonging to the Catholic question, that it had deprived the Government and the country of the services of that right hon. gentleman. (Cheers.) One word now on the Catholic question. A base conduct had been imputed to two parties in plain, undisguised and therefore to his taste more palatable language, by the right hon. gentleman, the Under Secretary. (Murmurs.) He begged pardon, he discovered from the kind corrections of his friends about, that he had been calling the Under Secretary right hon. gentleman; he was so little accustomed to these arrangements that he hoped to be excused. (Laughter.) The fact was, that there could not be any real mistake. There was nothing to complain of in the speech of the right hon. Secretary. But the late Under Secretary had accused him and his friends of an unnatural coalition, and of forming a base alliance. There could be no baseness in their conduct if there were no fraud practised upon the allies. He, for one did not look at the Catholic question as a Cabinet question, or one that was likely to be made a Cabinet question. He looked to saving it from the certainty of defeat by remodelling the Cabinet which must in any event bring good to Ireland. As to the Catholic question itself, if pursued prudently, discreetly, practically, with a full wariness of all the difficulties standing in the way, and accumulating round their steps as they arrived nearer the desired goal—for however cautious the hon. gentleman (Mr. Dawson) had been in the choice of terms, he had been sufficiently plain to be understood (laughter)—there was greater reason to hope now than ever. But honestly wishing well to Catholic and to Protestant Ireland,—for he would never hear of a division of their interests after finding that upon the last division in that house how great a number of Protestants, bound by law to be such, had voted for the question,—wishing Ireland, including the Catholics, honestly well, he must hold that man to be an enemy to the advocates of the Catholics, both in and out of the house, who would attempt to push the question forward at this criticle moment. (Partial laughter, followed by loud cheers.) Let them not do that which would give most pleasure to their bitter enemies. (Loud cheers.) Let them not play the game of that quadrant of the house (laughter), already flushed with expectation of the success of their shallow device. (Cheers.) Let them not trust in any way to those persons, who, skilled in the use of inarticulate sounds, could do little in opposing them with articulate language,—who were much heard and but little understood. Among others who had spoken, he could not but allude to the hon. bart, member for Somerset, whose situation on those benches, were it not for the great personal regard which he (Mr. Brougham) had for him, he must call grotesque. (Laughter.) To repeat the gratulation of the hon. member for Yorkshire to the late Secretary of the Home Department, he wished him life and health to sit upon those benches of which he was the ornament. Long might he remain the ornament of those benches! and a special enjoyment did he (Mr. Brougham) wish him of his pre-eminence, (Much laughter.) But in friendly caution he would advise the hon. baronet to be careful. Let him manage in other respects as he pleased, but let him beware of speaking. (Laughter.) It was the most dangerous use of property. (Cheers and laughter.) Let him use it wisely and warily. (Laughter.) Already did did the hon. baronet remind him of a living body influenced by two equal and opposite sets of motives, attracted, as it were, by two bundles of nearly equal weight and quality. (Loud laughter.) He seemed as if he scarcely knew which to support—the interests of his sovereign, governing by Tory principles, or to the late hon. secretary, who claimed him on behalf of that question which seemed to be so near his own heart. It was to be hoped that he would in the result be true to his constitutional principles, especially as he was now to be informed that there was not the shadow of a thought with any one as to altering the policy of the Cabinet upon the Catholic question. Would nothing comfort and assure him? Ought he not to be a little at ease when reflecting that there were left in the cabinet Lord Bexley and the present Lord Chancellor? Did he not hear the last speech delivered in this house by that noble and learned lord? Did he not witness the conflict between him and those members of the then Government who supported the Catholic question? If these were not securities which could satisfy the hon. bart. that the Catholic question would be prevented from progressing too briskly, he must despair of seeing him satisfied. (Ceers.) One word more. Whoever should advise, whether in or out of that house, the bringing on of that question during a session in which the sense of Parliament had been taken, however unfortunately, would not do his duty in consulting the tranquillity of Ireland and England; but would show himself the worst enemy of both, and certainly not a very good friend to himself, since he would become the tool for the project of the hon. baronet. Feeling the most anxious desire for the progress of that question, such were his feelings upon it. Now, as it was the custom to talk of sacrifices, perhaps the house would allow him to mention something of that which he had sacrificed to his wishes for the promotion of that object. He had quitted a situation eminent beyond his hopes or merits on the opposite benches, where he was surrounded—he might almost say followed, from the respect shown to his humble abilities—by one of the largest, of the most honourable, and he could add, because their motives he knew from being privy to their councils, one of the most disinterested oppositions ever known in that house—an opposition consisting of men who did what they sincerely thought best for their country though in doing so they felt sure they were helping to confirm their adversaries in office. he had quitted that station, enough to satisfy the ambition of the proudest man, under arrangements which had made his own acceptance of office impossible. (Loud cheers.) His opinions on foreign and domestic policy had led him to take this step, with the sincere desire of furnishing a useful assistance to the liberal sentiments of the right hon. gentleman, including in the particular objects of this change the Irish question which was likely to be furthered by it. Not that he was for giving it that prominent situation in the public councils which was required by the hon. baronet, but he wished that it should derive every possible advantage from the junction of the two parties which had divided the House and the country, but were now united in the intention of a cordial, hearty, and uniform support of such measures as should be deemed best for the country. His taken of office would, as he found, have had the effect of preventing that junction, and therefore he had voluntarily and without any suggestion being made to him on the occasion, resigned all claims of his own which could be

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held to stand in the way! acting in this as he trusted he should do at all times, upon the conviction that the character of a public man belongs to his country." (Loud and continued cheers.)

MR. CANNING rose, but from the movement which took place, in consequence of members pressing into the side galleries to hear him, we were unable to catch his first expressions. He was understood to refer to the impression which the speech of the late right hon. Secretary (Mr. Peel) had made upon his own mind, and the notice which he proposed to take of some which were spoken after. To begin, he said, with the more agreeable part, his right hon. friend had made an appeal to his opinions for the confirmation of his own. He could bear testimony to his conduct, which, during a continual intercourse, he had found distinguished by that just feeling and high principle so strongly pourtrayed in his speech. The house would greatly mistake his (Mr. Canning's) situation if they believed that it was one of gratified ambition. From the beginning of the discussions on the subject of the Catholic claims he had felt that their separation was inevitable and not far remote. Would to God that he could now persuade himself that his retirement would be but for a short time! Had the necessity which had made the resignation of one of them inevitable been left in his hands, his decision would have been in favour of his own resignation, and against that of his right honourable friend. The courtesy of his right honourable friend had induced him to acquaint him (Mr. Canning) with his intention of speaking to-night He had thereupon consulted the will of his Royal Master, from whom he had obtained permission to publish such parts of the late negotiations as were necessary for his vindication. True it was,—and why should he deny it?—he had been called upon by His Majesty for his advice, or rather he ought to say, for his opinion, on the occasion alluded to. He did, then, if he might presume to say it, give his counsel to the King, that his Majesty ought, under the circumstances in which he felt himself placed, to make a Government conformable to that lately conducted by the Earl of Liverpool. He was free to admit that the advice he had so given the King was not what he should have wished to offer, were he allowed to be guided altogether by his own opinion; it was counsel, which in fact necessarily involved his own retirement from office. That result he did not conceal, but at the same time laid his resignation, with much more confidence respecting his future position, apart from the Government, than any which he knew he could occupy subsequently with the question differently settled. When he had thus presumed to give His Majesty a solicited opinion, and to withdraw himself into retirement, lest he should be deemed any obtacle to future arrangement, it was not him to recommended to His Majesty the individuals who were to form a Government opposed to his own opinion; therefore all that remained, for him was, to ask leave to retire, and make way, so far as he was concerned, for its formation. He had always defended, and he still defended, unrestricted freedom of opinion upon the Catholic question; that was the opinion and the wish of his oldest colleagues in the late Administration; it was the opinion of the Earl of Liverpool, and expressed in a manner in which he would just relate. Not many month, ago, from a source which he should not name, a recommendation had been given to His Majesty to place his Government upon a footing of uniformity upon the Catholic question; and Lord Liverpool, to whom that advice was communicated at the same time as to the King, immediately wrote a letter to His Majesty declining his concurrence in such advice; stating also, the being himself in some respects the author of the principle of the divided cabinet upon it, he would never be a member of a Goverment which excluded it. (Loud cries of "Hear.") He (Mr. Canning) therefore, in delivering his opinion to His Majesty, did not conceal from the King, that the difficulties would be great in forming an exclusive cabinet upon that question; and he repeated, that it was no part of his duty to suggest who should be the Royal counsellors, when he had intimated his intention of withdrawing from the Government. He did not disguise the difficulties which must attend the formation of such a government as he had alluded to, but he did not pronounce it to a work of impracticability. It was not for him to say by whose advice, or for what reasons, it was the King's determination not to act upon the suggestion which he had presumed to offer; but from the period when he first saw his Majesty upon this business, until the King afterwards came to town, he (Mr. Canning) had had no certainty that the plan of forming a different sort of administration would not have been followed. So far therefore, from seeking to possess power under the circumstances in which Lord Liverpool's sucession had placed him, his first act was, a direct expression of his wish to withdraw from it. Was that like seeking to exclude any body? Was that seeming to impede the formation of a Government, which sought to be promoted by the abortive motion (he did not mean the word in an invidious sense) of the hon. baronet opposite? (Sir T. Lethbridge.) Why, the experiment of forming it had been fairly tried at the very time, and nothing done to that hour had been done by him to impede it, unless offering to step out of the way for the purpose of promoting it could be construed into such an impediment. But when he was afterwards told that such a government could not be formed, and when he, like Lord Liverpool, had recorded his declaration that he would not be a member of any administration which inflexibly excluded the Catholic question, nothing remained for him but to assist, as far as he could, in the reconstruction of the divided government upon Lord Liverpools plan, with of course the necessary consequence that that question was not to be made a cabinet measure. Then there arose a totally different state of things, not one involving the question whether he should himself be in the government or not, but whether that government would be discredited upon receiving from him that assistance which not his own wishes, but the situation of circumstances—perhaps a misfortune to the country—had cast upon him. What then had been proposed to him? Why, to reconstruct the government, all the old members retaining office, but placing as its head some Peer who was known to entertain anti-Catholic sentiments. Then what was the principle which, by such an arrangement, he was called upon to sanction in his own person? Why it was plainly this,—that holding the opinions which he did, was necessarily a disqualification for his filling the highest office in the Administration. (Loud "cries of hear.") Office he would quit for ever, for office he cared not, retirement he would seek at the extremity of the earth; but to possess it on terms so degrading, was the last stigma which he could suffer in his own person, and only next to that of bearing a part in the administration ostensibly formed for excluding the Catholic question. (Loud cheers.) He would endure his being proscribed for ever from the council of his Sovereign, rather then any future statesman should have the power to blast his memory by recording his submission to such disgrace, and holding him up to execration, for entertaining an opinion which, up to that moment, he thought he was free to hold without any violation of compact with his colleagues. (Renewed cheers.) He threw himself upon that house and his country for a candid construction of his conduct. His first object was to quit office, his next to remain in it with all his old colleagues, exactly upon the same terms as he and they had hitherto acted towards each other upon this very Catholic question. (Hear, hear.) It was for this that he had been arraigned, not indeed by his right honourable friend (Mr. Peel), who had fairly stated his opinions to him, but in coarser terms by another honourable gentleman. (Mr. Dawson) who had charged him with forming a Government which, as he had described it, was chiefly Catholic—thus reproaching him for not having advised the King to do that which he had in the first place counselled His Majesty to attempt, for not pursuing a course from which, as the facts proved, he had never deviated. Again, he would only summon the hon. member's recollection to these facts. When on the 12th of April, he went to the chamber of the King, intending to propose a plan of arrangement for a Government, composed of all the members of the old Government, with a divided, or rather a preponderating anti-Catholic Cabinet, for such it was, was it his fault (as the insinuation conveyed) that he received in the closet of his Sovereign, the resignation of six Protestant members of the late Cabinet? (Loud cries of "Hear.") Not by concert or pre-arrangement, as his right hon. friend (Mr. Peel) had declared, and he (Mr. Canning) believed, but by a coincident movement. This was a fact which the late hon. Under. Secretary (Mr. Dawson) had thought proper to sink. (Hear, hear.) [Here Mr. PEEL said something in a low tone of voice to Mr. Canning, which we understood was to explain that five and not six of the members of the late cabinet had resigned in the manner stated.] Mr. Canning resumed, and thanked his right honourable friend for the correction. There were only five resignations sent into His Majesty at the time to which he alluded, for Lord Melville's was not tendered till the following day. Still the suppressed fact was this—that when he was charged with bringing in an undue proportion of members of the cabinet favourable to the Catholic question, the honourable member had forgotten to state, that the Protestant half of the cabinet had voluntarily thought proper to resign. (A laugh, and cries of "Hear.") By this coincident movement he was placed in quite a new situation; within 24 hours, five of the anti-Catholic members of the late cabinet, upon whose support he had firmly reckoned, had resigned. Was it after that act of his late colleagues, that any honourable members acquainted, too, with what had occurred, could fairly impute to him a wilful non-execution of the orders of his sovereign's? (Cheers.) But did his conduct end there? It was about the middle of Thursday, and two hours before the meeting of that house, when he had given directions for moving the new writ for himself, that he had received these unexpected resignations; and in consequence, he repaired to the King with them in his hand, and said, "Sire, here see what disables me from executing your Majesty's will. It is quite open for you still to take a new course of policy respecting the formation of your Government; nothing has been yet done which commits your Majesty to any particular line of conduct; but I must fairly crave permission to state to you, that if I am to go on in the formation of a new Administration, my new writ must be moved for this night, for I cannot move on through the recess (Easter) without endeavouring to finish the business." I will not presume to repeat the words which the King was graciously pleased to address to me on that occasion, suffice it to say, His Majesty gave me his hand to kiss, and my writ was instantly made out to be used on that evening. (Cheers.) As to the conduct pursued by his right hon. friend (Mr. Peel), he had throughout expressed his unqualified approbation of its candour and manliness. He had deplored his right hon. friend's decision, as well as that of his other colleagues. Their's was, indeed, as unexpected as it was painful to him. He knew not in what way he had sinned against them, so as to have provoked their late refusal to act with him. He was utterly at a loss to know how he had excited their angry feelings against him. On every subject which he could call to mind, whether of foreign or domestic policy, this one unhappy question excepted (the Catholic), he had received apparently their most cordial support. With respect to his right hon. friend (Mr. Peel), he unfeignedly declared that he did not know a greater calamity, than that the country should, at this moment, be deprived of his services, not alone in the office, the duties of which he had discharged with so much ability, and such signal advantages to the public, but in the general Council of the government; they would, nevertheless, hoped, though deprived at this moment in the administration of his aid, have the benefit of it, in his place in the general share of the legislative business of the kingdom, as a member of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) He repeated, that either in private or in public, in his seat in the Cabinet, or in his place in that house, he could not charge himself with having offered a single individual of the late Government the smallest intentional offence. He was unaware that he had given the least cause for their estrangement by any act of unkindness or ill feeling on his part. (Hear, hear.) In giving this explanation he had, he hoped carefully abstained from making any severe or reprehensible observation, save to place the real facts that had occurred in their true order, and how he had been brought into the situation which he now filled. There were, however, one or two topics to which, with the permission of the house, he would just allude, as growing out of his right hon. friend's speech, and arising, as be believed, from mistake and misconception, rather than the least desire to misrepresent what he (Mr. Canning) had done. His right hon. friend had said, "How should it be possible, when I have been advanced to the high situation which I now fill, that without any active promotion on my part, and in the absence of any direct personal effort of mine, the Catholic question can fail to progress, and acquire a moral approach to its consummation even without my incurring any official responsibility in assisting such a result." He could not, he frankly avowed, deny the general truth of his right honourable friend's observation; and in the admission of that (as he believed) identical fact, would be found the complete and obvious answer to the taunts of the hon. baronet opposite (Sir T. Lethbridge), at the support which the present government were now receiving from the gentlemen of the opposition. Why had these gentlemen supported him? because they saw in the aspect of the present state of things exactly the same tendency which his right hon. friend had seen towards the moral advancement of that great question, namely—that without his official interference, indeed with his perfect inaction, they beheld a considerable prospect of improvement in a question for which they felt a common interest. If so, it was a good reason why he should have their support, and equally so for his right hon. friend to oppose him; but it was a little too much for any hon. member to say that the reason was good at one side and bad at the other, while both parties concurred in anticipating the same result. (Hear, hear.) If his right hon. friend were justified in resigning, because even with his (Mr. Canning's) passive existence in office, that question must thrive, surely the same justification held for his receiving the support of other gentlemen who contemplated, in the success of such a question, the tranquillity and consolidation of the empire. (Cheers.) His right hon. friend's defence of his own retreat must, therefore, be taken as a complete and conclusive answer to all these taunts which were levelled at the support which was held out to him from other quarters of the house. That support, he felt confident, would be continued to him by those gentlemen, as they respected and approved the measures which he should introduce; and in the same relative feeling, and in no other, he was persuaded he should have to receive or encounter the support or opposition of his right hon. friend. (Hear, hear.) Was it the Catholic question, then, which had banished his late colleagues from his side? No, for that stood exactly as it had done hince the year 1812, and this reference reminded him of the necessity of giving an explanation to a part of his right hon. friend's speech respecting that year, which, if overlooked, would lead to fortify a conclusion, that, as he had before said, arose from mistake and misapprehension. His right hon. friend, when he had referred to what had been his conduct in the year 1812, had omitted sufficiently to distinguish one part of that year from another. He had not brought the books with him, because he was not prepared for such a retrospect; he had, however sent for them. His right hon. friend had said that in assigning his (Mr. Canning's) reasons in May, 1812, for not joining Lord Liverpool's Administration of that year, he had smothered his own opinions; and yet had on, the 22d of June, carried a vote upon the Catholic question by a great majority. But his right honourable friend should have stated the fact as it had really occurred. Did nothing intervene between that month of May and the 22d of June? On the 25th of May Lord Liverpool had called upon him, and had been pleased to ask his leave for proposing his name as a member of the new Administration. He believed that this application had been first made to him on the 22d. What was his reply? He instantly asked his noble friend, whether the Catholic question was to be considered an open one in the Cabinet? or whether the policy of the Government continued unchanged upon that subject? Lord Liverpool's reply was, that his own opinion remained unchanged upon it, and he was not aware of any alteration in the opinion of any of his colleagues. Now, how did the Catholic question stand then? Why, exactly as it did in the unrestricted regency during Mr. Percival's Administration, and when both Lord Sidmouth and Lord Castlereagh pronounced their unqualified opinions against its consideration. He had just received the records of the debates of the day, and would read the recorded words of the Ministers. Lord Castlereagh had then said, (in the adjourned debate upon the Catholic question, April 24, 1812), "With respect to the vote I shall give to-night, my right hon. friend (Mr. Percival) has truly stated, that the Cabinet are unanimous in their opinion, that the question of concession to the Catholics could not now be conveniently agitated, nor any inquiry be gone into upon the subject of the legal disabilities of His Majesty's Catholic subjects in Ireland, with the hope of coming to any ultimate and satisfactory arrangement," Surely the feeling of the Cabinet at that time was one of general resistance to the discussion of the Catholic claims; the individual members of the Administration were then agreed to go with the majority, and that majority had determined against the measure; hence he refused to join them when solicited by Lord Liverpool. (Hear, hear.) But what had followed within the short month which intervened between May and June? Why, on the 10th of the latter month the following question and answer would be found in the records of the debates of that period, which would show the material alteration that had just then taken place in the position of the question, as avowed in an answer given by Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Spencer Stanhope:—"Mr. Spencer Stanhope rose for the purpose of putting a question to the noble lord opposite. He wished to know if it was intended, on the part of the present ministers, that the same policy in every respect should be observed by them in reference to the Catholic question, which had been observed by the Administration under the conduct of a late right hon. gentleman. Lord Castlereagh said, that he felt some difficulty in answering the question of the hon. gentleman literally, the arrangements for the new ministry not having been yet fully completed. But as to the spirit of the question, he thought he could be more satisfactory. He could say this from his knowledge of those employed in forming that Administration, that generally their sentiments remained the same. Upon a former occasion, they had thought, inclusive even of those who were favourable to the measure, that the present was not the time for discussing that question; and in still thinking so, that recent decision of Parliament formed a leading consideration in influencing the adoption of that opinion. The sense of Parliament having been, at least for the present, definitively pronounced, they thought that any immediate revived discussion would only create irritation, without being productive of any thing useful. He was aware, however, of the growing change in favour of those claims, and in submission to that change, and the real sentiment of certain members of the Government, it had been resolved upon as a principle, that the discussion of this question should be left free from all interference on the part of the Government, and that every member of that Government should be left to the free and unbiassed suggestions of his own conscientious discretion. See, then, how the matter stood. On the 25th of May all the members were united in resisting the Catholic question. On the 10th of June the reverse was the positive fact; and in that difference would be found his (Mr. Canning's) justification. (Hear, hear.) To come, however, directly to the point at issue respecting the present situation of the Government. It remained, in fact, exactly as it did when Lord Castlereagh spoke in June, 1812,—exactly as he himself had described it on repeated occasions in the successive years which had followed, in the debate upon the state of Ireland in 1825, on the debate in the same year upon the Catholic claims, when he had used these words:—"I declare that in office as well as out, I am at perfect liberty to moot this question whenever a sense of duty impels me to do so. Whether I shall do so while in office, whether I should do so if out of office, and whether, in either case, the fit time for doing so may appear to be come, are points which I reserve for the decision of my unfettered judgment." On that footing the question, so far as he was concerned, still remained—it was exactly on the same as that during which his right honourable friend (Mr. Peel) had acted as his colleagues for years; although he had lately withdrawn from him. It was in that state that he did not shrink from, but willingly accepted, the support of other gentlemen, notwithstanding the opprobrium which was attempted to be cast upon him for receiving such

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assistance, (Hear, hear.) After this statement, perhaps, it was hardly necessary for him to state how the Catholic question now stood; nevertheless he had no difficulty in giving the fullest explanation upon that point. (Loud crises of "Hear,") The Catholic question now remained an open subject, as it had done during Lord Liverpool's late administration,—it remained one on which each member of the government was at perfect liberty to exercise his own judgment, either to support or oppose it: and with this further understanding, that if any member of the administration wished to moot it himself, he was bound to state at the same time distinctly, that he acted in his individual capacity. (Hear, hear.) So that the Catholic question stood thus far exactly in the same state in which it had done for the last 15 years; and it was only in that situation, reserving the right of private judgment, according to his conscientious belief, that it could stand with a reasonable chance of ult mate success in this country. He looked alone for its progress to the good seuse and good feeling of the people of both countries. (Hear, hear.) And that progress could only be retarded by any inconsiderate effort to provoke opinion among one class, or stifle it with the opposite, at the risk of a convulsion in one or the other part of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) He freely, avowed he was not prepared to precipitate convulsion in either, therefore he would not raise hopes that might be marred; nor hold out too sanguine expectations, without seeing a moral prospect of their being realized. He remembered full well —and to do so there was no need of carrying his memory far back—the interpretation put upon certain expressions in Ireland, and how much had been made to turn upon particular words. And this recollection instructed him not to use them, unless he was fully prepared to fortify them subsequently by acts. Much, then, as he valued carrying this measure for the tranquillity of Ireland, and he estimated it at a very high rate, he would not provoke, even for that purpose, the sort of passive resistance which might, he feared, be aroused in this country. (Hear, hear.) Against that feeling he confessed he was not prepared to run. If he were asked, did he therefore despair? His prompt answer was, "No." If the parties comported themselves calmly, and refrained from that factious conduct which was likely to provoke an active resistance, then would he be persuaded that the mind of the people of England, of such portion of them as were hostile to that question, would be gradually brought to take a more rational view of the subject; and that the well thinking part of them, who, with mistaken though conscientious feelings, entertained strong prejudices of a particular kind, would look back with surprise on the apprehensions which they had previously harboured, and concur in the justice and reasonableness of a course of policy which they had previously rejected. (Hear, hear, hear.) With these sentiments he was prepared to say, that he would not prematurely stir up the feelings of the people of England for a theoretic though essential good. He expected the dawn of a better day, but he would not precipitate its appearance. He knew that the present darkness would (and he hoped speedily) be succeeded by a light which would illuminate the prospect; and knowing this, he would not, for the sake of freedom of conscience, force the concience of others. (Cheers.) He spoke out thus plainly his intention; and when he was taunted with thwarting the view of his Sovereign by an hon. member (Mr. Dawson), who had not feared to enter the very penetralia of the Royal breast, to probe the speculative opinions which rested there, his (Mr. Canning's) answer was that he had not, and he would not, violate the Royalw conscience. He would venerate it in the present sovereign, as he had done in the late king. If the hon. member asked him, whether he looked upon the coronation oath as involved in the consideration, he would plainly tell him "No." (Hear, hear,) That was the answer given by Lord Liverpool, and the arguments with which he should combat such, were those he had derived from his noble friend, and the friends of the hon. member himself. (Hear, hear.) Let him than hear no more of the accusation that he meant to press this question sternly upon the feelings of Englishmen. If he were asked, whether he thought their prejudices upon this point had slept, he would say, he believed it was a sleep, from which, if prematurely aroused, they might be awoke with gigantic strength. (Hear. hear.) Still the subject must be looked at in the face; and there, again, he admitted that it was likely to gain strength from recent events; events too, not of his seeking, for he had wished to avoid them, but force then he would not now, more than when he sat side by side with his right hon. friend. (Hear, hear.) He was not aware that he had omitted any thing material: if, however, he had he would be obliged to any hon. gentleman who interrogated him further. He sat where he did by no seeking of his own. He had proposed at first his own exclusion,—it was not accepted; then conditions were offered to him, which he refused, because, as he had already said, they were accompanied by an admission of his own disqualification, to which, had he submitted, he should have been for ever degraded. In the year 1822 he was appointed to an office fraught with wealth, honour, and ambition. From that office he was called, not only not on his own seeking, but contrary to his own wish, and he made a sacrifice—a sacrifice, be it remembered, of no inconsiderable nature to a poor man; and the offer of a share in the administration was made to him, so help him God, without a stipulation. But if that offer had been made,—as it ought to have been, if he was to have been ousted now,—if that offer had been made with this condition, that if the highest place in the administration should become vacant, he was to recollect that the opinions which he held on the Catholic question were to be a bar to his succeeding to it, he would have turned the offer back with the disdain with which he turned back that of serving under a Protestant (using the term Protestant in the familiar manner in which they were accustomed to use it) premier as the badge of his helotism, and the condition of his place. (The right hon. gentleman sat down amidst loud cheering.)

Mr. PEEL rose to say a few words in explanation, He had never meant to reproach his right hon. friend for the sentiments expressed in the speech which he had quoted: he merely meant to say that his (Mr. Peel's) situation was altogether similar to that in which his right hon. friend then found himself. There was only one more point of importance on which he felt it necessary to make any observation. His right hon. friend, in speaking of the resignations which he received had used the word "coincidence" in a manner which it was quite impossible not to understand; and it was but justice to honourable men to set right any doubt that might remain upon the subject. His right honourable friend had said, that he received six Protestant resignations in the chamber of His Majesty. Now, he felt it his duty to say, that that was not the fact. On Tuesday, the 10th of April, he (Mr. Canning) received the commission from His Majesty, and on Tuesday, he (Mr. Peel) saw his right hon. friend, who said to him that he was afraid he (Mr. Peel) was not prepared to give him any other answer than that which he had already given; and he (Mr. Peel) said that he had not. He believed that the Lord Chancellor had a conference with his right hon. friend on the same night, and that his lordship on that occasion said, that he had long sought an opportunity of resigning: that a new event had now occurred, and that the question with him now was, whether his feelings on the Catholic question ought to induce him to revoke the intention which he had previously formed of retiring from office. He (Mr. Peel) certainly understood that his lordship, on that occasion, expressed his intention of retiring, though he might remain a short time longer in office, for the purpose of giving judgment in some cases now pending before him.

Mr. CANNING said that he really did not understand the Lord Chancellor upon that conference to have come to any fixed determination on the subject. This, however, he could assure the house, namely,—that the Lord Chancellor's resignation was one of those which he received in the King's chamber.

Mr. PEEL said, that the communications must have been made between the Tuesday and the Thursday, when the writ was to have been moved for. Was it improbable, then, that all the letters should bear the same date? Lord Westmorland sent in his resignation on the 11th, and Lord Melville and Lord Bathurst on the 12th. He never saw these letters before they were sent: he would pledge his word, as a man of honour, that the resignations were not concerted, and he did not believe that, among the persons who resigned, any one of them had said to the other "My decision depends upon yours," or, "I will, concert with you." He had heard many sarcasms passed upon the Lord Chancellor; he had heard it said that, even if the Catholic question were made a cabinet measure, so great was his attachment to office that he would remain. He did, however, believe that the Lord Chancllor had acted a most honourable part. With respect to the Lords Westmoreland, Melville, and Bathurst, the question presented itself to them in this light, —could the principles of Lord Liverpool's administration be maintained when they found that the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor and myself had resigned? Might they not have said that after those resignations the principles of Lord Liverpool's administration could not be maintained, when he, who differed from Lord Liverpool upon the great question of the Catholic claims, was to be at the head of the administration?

The orders of the day and some other business were then disposed of; but in consequence of the noise occasioned by persons who were quitting all parts of the house, it was impossible to gather, in the gallery, a syllable of what was said.

The house adjourned at a quarter past nine o'clock.

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